1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

596 593 [114] frequently postpone the division of a family for a number of years. Contrary to Freedman's findings (1958:21) that "as long as at least one of the parents is alive, married brothers were more likely to remain together," family division in Hsin Hsing village usually takes place before the death of the old father. Frequently, it occurs soon after the sons of the family are married and sometimes after the first son has married. In such an early division the parents, who are sometimes not very elderly, may join the conjugal family of one of the sons, thus forming a stem family. More frequently, however, the parents themselves form another conjugal family as do each of their sons. If the parents do form a stem family with the oldest son, he may be granted a somewhat larger portion of land in the division than his brothers, in order to care for the parents.

In either case the parents remain in their own living quarters. If the parents form their own conjugal family and the father is still able to work in the fields, he is likely to retain a small portion of land for himself at the time of division. If the parents officially become a conjugal family, they will be fed and cared for on a rotation basis, usually for ten or fifteen days, by each of the new *chia* formed by the sons. They receive a certain amount of pocket money from each son, sometimes in cash but frequently in rice, after each harvest. (They can then sell the rice when they need cash.) Should they need medical care, it is the sons' responsibility to contribute equally towards its cost. If division takes place before all the children are married, the parents form a conjugal family with the unmarried children, retaining a large enough share of land to give the unmarried daughters a dowry and the unmarried sons a land parcel equal to what each of the married brothers received.

[626] From fear of public criticism as well as from filial piety a son rarely fails in his obligations to his parents. A son who has moved his conjugal family to Taipei may sometimes be delinquent in sharing the costs of his parents' care, but more often the problem is his inability to do his share of parent-feeding in the monthly rotation. Under such circumstances the other brothers often refuse to take over the absent one's duties, dividing the month up among all the brothers as if the Taipei brother were still in the village. The parents, then, much to their annoyance, have to cook their own food in the absent brother's part of the rotation, even though he sends them money from Taipei to pay for it.

After the family division, if one of the sons (and his family) who received a portion of land is working in Taipei, the father may spend 337 a good deal of his time farming the land for his son. An old father who 337 has a family large enough to care for him in his old age may spend his 593 time occasionally helping his sons on their land, doing odd jobs

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

around the house, or just relaxing. A man with few sons and very little land will have to continue to work the land well into his old age.

Although the reasons for family division are varied, there are standard procedures for implementing the process. The actual division is carried out through the customary process of mediation by a person called in to help work out an amicable settlement. This man may be a *tsu* relative, a respected fellow villager, or a maternal relative. Family division entails the equal division among all sons of all property belonging to the large family. All the land must be evaluated according to its productive capacity and location. Where the amount of land cultivated is very small, the members of the family may in rare instances agree to draw lots. The winner of the drawing gets all the land and pays his brothers for their share; they may then go to the city to support their families.

In the division of the house, each new *chia* retains its own apartment or rooms. The family's large brick stove usually goes to the oldest son, while the others use small charcoal stoves until they can build their own brick stoves. Sometimes, until they are well settled under the new family arrangements, the *chia* of the younger brothers may continue to use the original family kitchen and stove.

Although the division often results from or causes bad feelings between the newly formed *chia*, there is a great deal of interaction among the members of the family even after the family property has been divided. Such related families frequently share in the use of certain tools and farm implements, either through mutual lending or joint ownership. Since they are both relatives and neighbors, such families may also continue mutual aid and cooperation with one another in everyday tasks.

THE "ANCESTRAL GROUP"

Perhaps one of the most important unifying factors which joins divided families, as well as *tsu* organizations, is their joint religious activities. Although economic reasons may have divided the larger family, certain religious ceremonies continue to be a joint function. Ancestor worship and participation in funeral rituals for patrilineal relatives are two of the most important religious activities for the family. The one part of the house excepted from the division is the central room known as the *kung t'ing*, which contains the family's ancestral tablets, altar, and sometimes statues of gods which are owned jointly by the families. The room and its contents continue to be the common property of all the members of the separated families.

The conjugal families which now form independent *chia* (economic families) in their turn begin the process of expansion into joint or

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather. Wherever they may be, the men usually sit about smoking, talking about their crops or work, or telling stories and jokes. Some men play Chinese chess or listen to the radio at the village store.

The women have less free time during the day regardless of the agricultural season. During the slack seasons women are occupied steadily with ordinary household tasks. During the busy season they are simply busier, taking on additional work in the fields, cooking food at home for any hired laborers, or drying rice or vegetables after the harvest. When women do not have pressing work, they often spend their time in small groups working on fiber hats or mending clothing. At times as they work they may listen to Taiwanese opera on a radio, but more often they simply talk or gossip. Women also spend some of their free time visiting with neighbors or *ch'in tsu* in the village. If their own parents or brothers live in villages nearby, they may visit them on occasion for several hours.

OLD AGE

As old age approaches—and a person is considered old after fifty—both men and women gradually retire from farm work and household tasks if they have children who are able to take over the work and care for them. While this is usually the case, in these days there are also times when married sons go off to work in Taipei, and it then becomes necessary for the old man and the daughters-in-law to work the land. In such cases even the old mother has to do a great deal of work in the household.

In general, however, old age is a time of great freedom and leisure for men and women. Since they have few pressing responsibilities, they are free to wander about the village and visit each other. At most, old people of either sex may help watch their young grandchildren during the day. Some of the older people, especially one or two grandmothers in Hsin Hsing, are known for their ability to tell wonderful stories based on Taiwan opera or puppet shows which they have seen in the surrounding villages or in Lukang.

Unlike younger people, the old are not under pressure to adhere to the proprieties of life. Old women smoke in public, appear at public dinners normally attended by men only, and are generally outspoken. Old men frequent banquets and festivals held in Hsin Hsing and even surrounding villages. On such occasions they care little how much they eat and frequently gorge themselves with the good food. Their juniors watch and say nothing, and in fact seem to enjoy watching the old men behaving in ways that they cannot. At most they may laugh and make good-natured jokes at how much the old man is still capable of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

eating, while continuing to push more food on him. When old people talk, even though the younger people may consider their words pure nonsense, they merely smile and agree. When the evening is over there is usually some young grandchild waiting to lead the old man back over the dark paths to his house.

Frequently, even though the older man has virtually retired as head of the household, he may still bear the title of *chia chang*. In such instances, it is usual for him, rather than for the son who is actually head of the house, to be elected to village positions. These positions may be political, religious, or social: the man may be charged with the arrangements for the *pai-pai* for the village god or elected *lin chang*, and so on. Although everyone knows that old men are not able to handle the extensive duties of these jobs, they are nevertheless elected by their fellow villagers out of respect. The selection is made with the knowledge that the duties and responsibilities of the position will be carried out by the man's sons, but his election tends to give the old man a great deal of face in the village. This arrangement is made possible by the manner in which elections are usually conducted in the village. Although there is an election, the outcome is usually pretty well predetermined by the families concerned, who agree before the vote is cast who will be elected and who will actually serve in the position.

ILLNESS, DISEASE, AND MEDICINE

As has already been shown in Chapter 2, the tremendous increase in population on Taiwan is a reflection of the great reduction in the death rate, which results, primarily, from the lower incidence of fatal diseases. The control of disease has been effected by such factors as public health programs which have helped eliminate diseases like cholera and malaria, an increase in the number of Western-style doctors, an increased reliance on Western medicine and medical techniques, and somewhat better sanitation as a result of education of the public and governmental enforcement of health standards.

It was during the Japanese period that Taiwan saw the advent of Western-style doctors and medicines, especially in the 1930's. However, they were few, and their practice was limited mainly to the wealthy. The benefits of their knowledge, therefore, and the everyday use of Western-style medicines did not reach many of the rural people. During this period the rural people continued to rely primarily on Chinese doctors and herbal medicines, as well as magical cures effected by shamans and healing priests. (The magical techniques are discussed more fully in Chapter 8.) However, public health measures introduced by the Japanese government to combat epidemic diseases did benefit

465 561 [884] chronological age and varies with the physiological maturity of the individual and his ability to demand this level of respect from village men. However, it is hard for a young man to get much work for although he must be paid an experienced man's wage, he lacks both experience and reputation.

245 463 After tea leaves are picked, they are spread out in large shallow round bamboo baskets to dry and then sold to one of the five tea processors in Talei Li, seldom to outsiders. Three processors operate in Sanlei and two in Erhlei although one of the Sanlei processors is now quite inactive, only processing tea grown in his own fields. [477] Competition between processors is quite fierce but not on a price basis. Relations are built up between processor and farmer and tend to last a long time (see Chapter VI).

245 [462] Tea processing is primarily a man's task. Different kinds of tea are produced dependent on the amount or lack of fermentation, the types of leaves, and the additives: green, red (black), and jasmine and in two or three grades each. The hard part of the work is maintaining the fires as the leaves are roasted in large metal tins. After [462] [887] roasting, the leaves are placed back in the drying baskets for sorting, another task for women, but in this case, old woman. The work is tedious but not hard and can be learned [465] with a half-hour's instruction. On a piece-work basis, an old woman can easily earn $20.00 to $25.00 per day.

By the time the division takes place a man and his wife are usually in their middle or late fifties and in many cases no longer able to support themselves. Since no one is able to save more than enough money to buy his coffin, the parents often have no choice but to live with one of their children. Moreover, even if they could afford to live alone few parents would choose to do so. The joy of an old person's life is to spend his declining years in the company of his children and grandchildren. Their progeny represent to most elderly villagers the most important and most satisfying accomplishment of their lives. To be separated from them would be unthinkable.

Which of the sons the parents live with after the division of the hf varies. In some cases they will live with the eldest son; in some cases with the second or third son; and in others they will alternate between two or three sons. In 1960 there were 33 people living in Hsiachichou who had at least one married son. Of these, 17 were living with their eldest and only married son; 3 were living with the eldest of several married sons; 5 were living with the second-born of several married sons; and 5 others were living alternately with two or more married sons. Which of these arrangements obtains often depends on where the sons live after the division of the family. Because of the scarcity of land in the village, it is common for one of a family's sons to leave the village after the division, and in this case the parents will usually live with whichever son remains. The old people are reluctant to leave their relatives and friends in the village for the strange environment of the city. Should more than one of their sons

542 593 388 remain in the village, the parents may live in the same room of the divided house in which they have always lived but take their meals with one family on some days and with the other on other days. On occasion, one also finds elderly parents who live alternately with sons residing in different localities. One of the most pitiful fates of anyone living in the village was that of an old lady who spent one month with each of her five sons who were living in five different areas of the Taipei basin.

596 594 621 As a result of the fact that most parents live with one of their married sons, the division of the family typically produces one stem family and one elementary family. The only exceptions are those cases in which the family has more than two married sons, in which case the division produces one stem family and several elementary families, and those cases in which the parents live alternately with several married sons, creating what we might call partial stem families. One might therefore expect to find in Hsiachichou an approximately equal number of stem families and elementary families in this stage of the family cycle, but this is not the case. As we have mentioned above, many young men leave the village after the division of their joint family, and when they do they seldom take their parents with them. Even if two brothers both decide to remain, this will usually not create an elementary family in the village because the parents are then likely to live alternately with the two families. The result is that one finds very few elementary families living in the village whose senior members are a young married couple. Although there were 24 elementary families living in

511 build a new house, most families are forced to borrow money. As a local
426 wit said, "In times of crisis the clever have to depend upon the stupid and the stupid have to depend on Tien Kung." Only the wealthiest three or four families in the community are in a position to fall back upon their own resources in an emergency.

593 One of the effects of living in such an economy is that no matter
602 how hard a man may labor during his lifetime he will still be unable
888 to accumulate the means to support himself in his old age. The most the average villager can expect is to be able to save enough money to buy himself a respectable coffin. He must depend upon someone else to support him when he is no longer able to work, and the only people who can be trusted to do this are his own children. There are no government or philanthropic agencies to which a man can turn for aid in his old age, nor can he expect much of his kinsmen. If a man lived all of his life with his brothers, contributing to the support and education of their children, these children would be obliged to support him in his old age, but if the family was divided, as is almost always the case, he could not expect even his brother's children to come to his aid. The mutual support which characterizes kinship relations in Hsiachicou assumes reciprocity. One cannot expect help from relatives when the situation is such that they cannot expect a return within a reasonably short period of time. When we asked villagers if they would support an elderly relative whose sons had died, they typically replied that "a person ought to do that." When we asked if they thought that their own relatives would support them if their sons died,

*593 602 888 [189] the answers given were less equivocal. The majority agreed that the most they could expect was "a cheap coffin," and many felt that even this was setting one's expectations too high, one man replying that "they would just throw you in the river." The norms of the society enjoin a man to support an elderly and destitute relative, but there is little expectation that these norms will be honored. A man's only alternative therefore is to have children who are bound to him by the formal requirements of filial piety and the natural sentiment of the parent child relationship. As a villager explained, "On Taiwan no one asks you how much land you have. Here people ask you how many sons you have. You can work when you are young, but when you are old you have to have children to take care of you."

*593 191 842 888 When asked the most important reason for having children, several villagers insisted that economic security was the only reason. Playing on Mencius's famous dictum, one man told us that "the most unfilial thing a son could do was not to support his parents," and another younger man answered by quoting a proverb to the effect that "it is better to have money in one's pocket than sons in one's house." But like all sarcasm and most wit, these answers only have force as comments on an accepted value. A man must have sons to support him in his old age, and he must provide these sons with wives if he is to expect them to fulfill their obligations as sons, but were old age security his only concern his interest in descendants would end here. As we have seen already, most men do not live long enough even to see their grandchildren marry, and so there is little need for a man to have grandchildren

as insurance against a destitute old age. Yet one of the most compelling concerns of most elderly villagers is "to see their grandchildren before they die." In order to achieve this goal, they often force their sons into early marriages, and, if their son's wives prove barren, they may threaten to repudiate them, or if necessary, even adopt grandchildren. It is a great joy for an elderly man to be able to say that he has many children and grandchildren "to see me to the mountain when I die," and it is the great hope of every grandparent that he will be one of those few whose funeral procession is led by a small child dressed in blue, the mourning color for the deceased's great-grandchildren. Beyond the need to have someone to support you in your old age is the need to have descendants, to die assured that there will be someone to perpetuate the family line. To insure the comfort of one's old age is an important motive for having children, but the full value of children cannot be entirely represented in economic terms. They stand as testimony of a man's having fulfilled his duty to his own parents, and they make secure his own achievements and his claim on the future.

On the altar which stands opposite the main door to every village home are the family's ancestral tablets, small rectangular slips of planed wood, rounded on the top like grave-stones, and inscribed with the posthumous names of the deceased members of the family. Since the family is ideally patrilineal, these typically include the head of the household's father and mother, his father's father and father's mother, and so forth, for as many as five or six generations. The general rule is that a family's tablets will include all of those

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

bastards" better than his own children. This was too much. Lim Chieng-cua struck his wife a heavy blow across the mouth. She ran into the courtyard but he followed her, grabbing a heavy scaling pole as he went. Fortunately, A-bok was moving sacks of rice in the yard and pinned his uncle's arms before he could strike her. Instead of leaving, Chui-ieng turned back to attack her tightly-held husband. A-bok had to call Masa to pull Chui-ieng away. She then ran out of the house. The uproar brought the whole family out of the house, and the children were whimpering with fear. Lim Chieng-cua turned from his nephews without a word and disappeared into his bedroom. A-bok's young son, more curious than frightened, demanded of his father in a loud, clear voice, "Why were you fighting with Uncle?" Although his father insisted gruffly and repeatedly that they had not been fighting, his mother, characteristically, began to giggle. A-bok shouted at her to get back to work, and the others returned to the house. Tan Chun-ieng was home that evening and it was she who took over the care of Lim Chui-ieng's children, seeing to their baths and getting them into bed. Lim A-pou and her daughter-in-law, the latter probably under strict orders since basically she is a kind girl, completely ignored the frightened and tearful children. The youngest wandered around the house pathetically asking anyone who would listen, "Was Momma getting a spanking? Have you seen my Momma?" It was not the feared father who had abandoned them, but their beloved mother. Long after the house was usually quiet, I heard sobs coming from the children's sleeping room.

Lim Chui-ieng went to the only refuge she had in the village, the home of Ng Kui-lian, the go-between for her marriage. There she borrowed enough money to get her to relatives and left the village at once. A little over an hour after the quarrel, I heard the clump, clump of old Ng Kui-lian's cane aggressively announcing her progress through the house. Her status as the original go-between gave her the right and indeed the obligation to act as peace-maker in the present crisis. Her status as an old lady gave her the right to speak her mind to both parties. After soundly scolding Lim Chieng-cua for interrupting her late afternoon nap, she demanded full details of the quarrel. He spoke frankly and her comments were equally frank. They talked for the better part of an hour before the old woman was satisfied that both had been, as she suspected all along, in the wrong. With that she left, intending to put things back together the following day.

Much to my surprise, Lim Chui-ieng returned to the house the

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

592 [596] to have a male manager. This is probably related to the uncertainty and irregularity of income and the planning needed for the investments in seed, fertilizer, and insecticide before returns are achieved.

592 591 Although not displayed in Table 4, there is no relationship between the sex of the manager and a residence pattern of matrilocal as opposed to patrilocal.[6] I felt that matrilocal households would probably have a higher incidence of female managers than patrilocal households but this was not supported (see Chapter V).

592 All money earned by household members is considered to belong to the family pool which is managed for the overall good of the household. The male head, whether or not he is the manager of the pool, is expected to have a regular personal allowance and any unmarried son or daughter who has a job and is contributing to the pool should also have a regular allowance and money should be set aside for their weddings (bride price or dowry as the case may be). Only women and children who do not work have no regular allowance.

592 593 [824] [412] [291] There is one regular exception: married women make brooms and straw hats in their spare time and the money they earn for these activities does not go into the family pool nor is anyone in the family supposed to question what the woman does with this personal money. She may spend it for family treats like flavored shaved

[262] [426] [454] [838]

592 ica, she may spend it on herself by buying a luxury item
593 like a piece of jewelry, or she may just put it aside for
[262] security in her old age and also invest it in money lend-
426 ing clubs (see Chapter VI) or the post office. Several
454 women have accumulated quite large sums of personal money.
[888]

Although some village men have evening part-time activities that produce income, the money earned thereby is expected to go into the regular family pool. Thus, although men can more easily tap the family pool for their own wishes, only women have a source of money and retain savings which is exclusive.

Household Budgets

511 The following section contains a discussion of the yearly income and expenditures of the Liao Mou-tu family which was previously introduced as one of the wealthiest [592] in the village. Members include Liao Mou-tu, his three sons, their respective wives, and the four children of each son for a total of 19 people (see Figure 5). The figures in Table 5 are rounded for convenience and include a profit and loss statement and statement of net worth. Currently, the family has no meaningful debts.

511 The family netted about $6,500.00 for the year as
592 indicated in Table 5. Since there were four adult males,
462 the money they expended hiring farm laborers about equaled the money they earned by hiring out. The three wives in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

511 and two nearly-helpless old people are all dependent on
736 the labor of two mature adults, one of whom must spend a major portion of her time in nurturing activities.

511 The family diet is fairly rich and Lin An-hwei
[262] shares a bottle of beer each evening with another village
[273] Mainlander. Since the bottles are big, they take turns
[435] buying one but the cost to Lin's family still exceeds $250.00 per month. Before the recent medical expenses put them so far in debt, the family was doing quite well finan-
[525] cially but was not investing in land or business. They ate well and Lin gambled once a month with five Mainlanders who lived in the area and he also bought many lottery tickets. His gambling and participation in the lotteries have ceased but he continues to drink.

[388] The expensive medical treatments have been given up as part of the immediate plans of waiting for the old ones to die. After paying for their burial expenses, there are no further plans other than discharging the family debts.

511 The final contrast is with members of the lowest
621 class group in the community in terms of economics al-
565 though the village class structure is not sharply demarcated. Villagers will usually claim that everyone is nearly the same in the village but when pressed, will point out a few families who are somewhat richer than average and several families which are very poor but usually

592 Although some men have strong personalities and resist this withdrawal from active control quite vigorously, 592 others are most happy to comply. Life in the village for 888 the semi-retired old man seems to be most pleasant. Liao Tai-peng, the 72 year old temple caretaker, often states that he no longer has to worry about finances and does not really know his family condition as his oldest son has now taken on the burden of family care. In some cases, a son desires to assume control before his father is willing to give it up. This conflict may be particularly strong as the old man's sixtieth year passes and is often accentuated by the son's literacy and greater knowledge of new crops and techniques derived from the greater contact with the world outside the village. However, because of the strong values associated with filial piety, the son must be most careful not to push too hard and bring down the wrath of fellow villagers. Even when a man yields actual control to his son, there is seldom a change in the official records unless there has been a formal family division (discussed in a subsequent section). Thus, a man may be listed as the chia chang in spite of the fact his son is the effective head. In one case, the official chia chang is senile, frequently wets his pants, and is rarely lucid. He frequently wanders about the village especially in the bright sunshine, until led home by his grandchild.

592 562 Of the 66 chia chang appearing on the official records, 53 or 80% are male and 13 or 20% are female. This

[621]

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602
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(11) Respect and obedience are due from younger generations to older generations.

[361] (12) Respect and obedience are due from younger people to older people but in lesser amounts than that due between generations.

[562] (13) Respect and obedience are due from females to males.

[602] (14) People who are related consanguineally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related.

[602] (15) People who are related affinally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related at all.

[578] [562] (16) Females naturally have more quarrels with other females than do males with males.

[737] (17) It is the responsibility of an individual's descendants to care for him in his old age and having descendants is the only protection for old age.

[889] (18) Both a child and a person beyond age sixty are something less than a mature and responsible adult and not capable of properly representing the family or making the best decisions.

A preliminary analysis quickly reveals that some of these items are in direct conflict with others and that operationally, some principles may be in conflict with others. Moreover, the ranking of the items is not fixed or clear. For example, there is no conflict generated in terms of (11), (12), and (13) when a grandfather interacts with his granddaughter. However, there is conflict for the same items in the case of a woman and her son-in-law, i.e., (11) and (12) declare her superordinate and (13) subordinate. This latter example may indicate why there are more conflicts in a household containing an adopted-in husband.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 ADS Taiwan Hokkien ADS
Sanlei...in

121 182 606 59 As indicated in Figure 10, in the case of the regular marriage, the relationships between the senior generation and the incoming spouse are consistent or neutral in assignment of subordination in terms of (11), (12), and (13). Conversely, for the adopted-in husband household, there is a conflict in the same rules as previously specified, with reference to the relationship between mother-in-law and son-in-law. This latter case could also occur between mother and son in the regular household but several years of living together when the son was extremely dependent would probably have produced an adjustment.

121 182 899 51 Another item, (18), produces another kind of disagreement. There is a belief for example that a man older than sixty should withdraw from active control of his family and turn management over to his son who is now capable of better decisions (18). In the same conversation, villagers will claim that vigorous men over 60 are the best office holders and mediators for they have the experience to make the wisest decisions.

Family Life Cycles

182 59 The above postulates are combined with the analytical techniques explained in the previous section to illustrate the family cycle in Sanlei Ta'un. For simplification, assume the starting unit is a young married couple living alone in a single village household. Although this

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 290]

527 when they are celebrated, there is usually greater emphasis
561 for those of a man. After the thirtieth, every tenth year will be celebrated in special ways as a ta sheng jih (big birthday).

561 The first big birthday party is at age 60,[5] called
527 hsia shou (small longevity). As described in Chapter IX,
805 the Chinese calendar has a cycle of 60 years. When one
886 reaches age 60, he has completed an entire cycle and is starting over again so that every year after 60 is considered to be a gift of the gods. At age sixty, a man is expected to turn over control of the family to his sons and live as if on a pension but still contributing limited amounts of labor. Of course, there is often a disparity between chronological age and the level of physiological aging. Some men withdraw happily while others resist, but
527 a son should not press a reluctant father very hard. There
886 will be a big sixtieth birthday party with many guests who each present a red envelope gift which contains an even amount of money sufficient to more than pay his share of the cost of the party. Local politicians will send cards of congratulations. A man without grandchildren will not have a big party and there will only be a family affair without many guests for a woman reaching sixty whether she has many grandchildren or not.

388 Old age[6] tends to be a pleasant period of life in the village. The aged have a lot of leisure and yet enjoy

888 great quantities of respect. Rules for behavior are greatly relaxed and many can now do things younger people are not [562] [276] permitted. Old women attend meetings which are normally for males and some smoke for enjoyment only while women under 60 who smoke make an excuse that it is necessary for a particular affliction, "an itchy nose." Old women are the 888 562 831 561 ones who talk "dirty" and act as the village clowns and teasers. Up to age 35, females tend to be extremely shy in 552 public but once past 60, they are the most aggressive. I was sitting in front of the village store in a group one day while four young married girls were washing clothes across the street in a bent-over position. A woman of 80 nudged me and in a loud voice exclaimed, "That girl over there is waving it at you. Go over and stick her!" She and the other old women laughed loudly as several men smiled or snickered but the girls blushed deeply (as I did) and pretended we were not there. When an old woman in a social group clears her throat preparing to speak, others stop talking and listen intently, expecting to be amused.

527 561 888 If the first digit is even for the tenth year birthday, the occasion is more important.[7] The 70th birthday is recognized and has a special name of chung shou (middle longevity). Cards will be sent and there will be a family party but not many guests come. On the other hand, the eightieth birthday, shang shou (high longevity), is the next big occasion, but for males and females alike. In addition to the big party and monetary gifts, cards will

527 561 888 come from all over the island. An interview will be recorded in the local newspaper, the provincial governor and other important officials send small scrolls and even Chiang Kai-shek himself sends a scroll of congratulations which will proudly be displayed on the wall in the kung t'ing.

The 90th, chi shou (senior longevity) is rather an echo of the 70th but will be reported in the newspapers. No one in the village area had been known to reach one hundred but there were hopes for a man over 90 in Erhlei. There was believed to be a special name for the hundredth birthday but no one could recall it although several felt the term had something to do with eating. My questions stimulated much speculation about what gifts and recognition a hundred-year old would receive. One man suggested the gifts would probably include a letter from the head of the United States and several people nodded in agreement.

Recreation

521 The most important form of recreation was conversation which took significant portions of every day, particularly the evenings between dinner and bed-time. Almost any topic was open with gossip about others endemic for everyone knew each other's business. When anyone waited at the bus, every person who passed by asked, "Where are you going? What are you going to do?" When returning on the bus, similar questions were heard, "Where have you been? What did you do?" With a purchase, the question is "What did you buy

562 the stage of extreme dependence, while the boy is a baby,
593 the mother has absolute control and even later, during early childhood, nearly absolute control, but the traditional literature does not seem to take cognizance of this social fact. Moreover, elements of the behavior pattern established between a son and his mother are likely to persist after the son reaches maturity as social scientists have established in the study of socialization and habituation. This latter fact probably has value in explaining the lesser amounts of conflict found in a patrilocal as opposed to a matrilocal household which was discussed in the explanation of the postulates introduced in Chapter V.

114 Another element related to the above argument is found
562 in the requirement that the young must show respect for the
593 aged. The traditional literature frequently includes state-
[361] ments about the respect due from females to males and from
[888] young to aged in the same paragraph and even in the same sentence (Chiu, 1966:17; Fairbank, 1962:31) without ever confronting or considering the obvious fact that these two requirements are necessarily in conflict in the relationship between a son and his mother. A simple exercise in logic should make this clear but similar neglect of aspects of logic abounds in the literature.

[606] For a third example of this failure to follow through, note that after much discussion about the lowly status of women in one section of an article or chapter of

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highly respected. When a letter from a relative in the city arrives, most villagers must go to one of their literate neighbors to have it read.

Today, most village children do complete primary school. Kuo-Yu (Mandarin) is used almost immediately from the first year, even in the rural primary schools. Primary school graduates and those in the lower grades can therefore speak Mandarin. In addition, because of the increased contacts with urban centers and also with Mandarin speakers in the rural areas, most of the young people retain a speaking knowledge of Mandarin. This holds true even for the majority, who remain in the villages and do not go on to middle school.

However, the ability to read Chinese characters is frequently not retained for very long. Primary school graduates can usually read simple texts, although much of this material is often memorized. Even those who do fairly well in reading forget characters very quickly unless they go on to middle school or continue to take an interest in reading after graduation. The reading of simple material soon becomes difficult with lack of practice.

Unfortunately, the primary schools, whose books and courses of study are furnished by the provincial government, make no attempt to teach the children material which would equip them to read simple agricultural magazines. Consequently, the upper classmen or primary school graduates who try to read *Harvest Magazine*, a useful agricultural magazine for the farm population, have found even this simplified though specialized material frustrating. Most of the young people who do make an attempt soon give up and all too often read almost nothing at all. The end result is that several years after they graduated from primary school, many of these young people are again functionally illiterate.

In Hsin Hsing village only a few primary school graduates go on to junior and finally senior middle school each year. They usually go to a community school in Lukang, since it is located close to the village. Students attending this school can live at home and make the three-mile trip each way by bus or bicycle. During the period of this research, the two Hsin Hsing village girls attending middle school went to the Lukang school, along with three boys from the village. A few other boys attended middle schools near Chang-hua, less than ten miles from the village, and one village boy was studying at a middle school in Taichung about twenty-five miles away. The boys at the Chang-hua and Taichung schools had to live away from home.

The Lukang middle school gives a general education; the one near Chang-hua gives specialized training in agriculture; the Taichung school is considered academically superior to the others. All middle schools, however, charge tuition and can be entered only after passing

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the ancestors are all considered both important and fundamental to correct behavior. Aptly expressing a rather general feeling, one villager said, "Everyone knows it's natural to act this way. What other way is there to act?"

The development of this attitude is promoted chiefly by examples in everyday life which are a part of a child's general upbringing. Children are frequently told stories which emphasize the rewards of filial and virtuous behavior. The scrolls displayed and the stories told by the *tao shih* during funerals (see Chapter 7) contribute greatly to the indoctrination. In addition, the use of formal kinship terminology constantly reminds children of the importance of proper behavior towards their superiors or elders. Terms of respect (utilizing kinship terminology) which take into account the relative age and generation of all relatives and even friends and neighbors are learned early and indicate the way one person is expected to act toward another.

Children and adults are also constantly reminded of the "moral way" by door hangings whose elaborate calligraphy exhorts them to proper behavior as well as wishing them good fortune. While most villagers cannot actually read the characters, they know what they mean. These scrolls are usually purchased in Lukang; nowadays many of them bear anti-Communist, nationalistic slogans which mean little to most of the villagers who buy them.

The schools consistently emphasize many of the basic traditional moral values. Textbooks present stories about acts of filial piety or respect for elders and those in authority and emphasize the value of reasonableness, compromise, and cooperation, and, of course, patriotism and even extreme nationalism. In addition, special topics or themes are stressed during certain weeks. For example, the schools observe "filial piety week," during which they stress obedience and respect for age, teachers, and parents. Other weeks are devoted to the importance of love and charity, respect for country, and the national flag. Thus, we find the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism constantly reaffirmed in everyday life.

Ancestor Worship

Ancestor worship, which is closely related to Confucianism and the mystique of filial piety, and whose rituals actually reinforce it, is a form of religious belief to which virtually all Hsin Hsing area villagers adhere. The believers are not, however, in agreement about the effect ancestors have on the lives of their descendants. Many in Hsin Hsing do not agree that ancestors provide positive aid to their descendants, but few would deny the misfortunes that are sure to fall if neglected ancestors vengefully fail to protect their unfilial descendants from the many negative spirits.

Since ancestral spirits live in the other world much as they did in

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It becomes evident then that there has been significant change in the traditional Chinese value toward the land held earlier. Were it not for fellow villagers and *ch'in tsu* who still are critical of those who sell off their land in the indiscriminate manner in which it is so often done today, and for those villagers who still prefer the village and the agricultural way of life, it would be tempting to deny almost completely any residue of the feeling of "reverence or intimacy" toward the land which the peasant may have held in the past.

The villagers' attitude toward education is another evidence of the lack of real attachment to the land and village. Education to them means a way to rise above the life of a farmer or farm worker, although they do not necessarily expect it to raise them to civil service or elite status. Their primary interest in education is the attainment of an easier life, financial betterment, and power for the individual family. Thus, typically, village farmers want their daughters to marry businessmen. Education has far less inherent value of its own per se than it had in the Confucian tradition, and the materialistic ambitions are against the tradition as well.

Today there are few well-educated villagers who remain active in village affairs in the Hsin Hsing area. Usually, they go into business outside the village or accept employment in local government, such as in the district Public Office. When a man establishes a business outside the village area, as we saw happening after the land reform, he usually shifts his social as well as his economic interests. Once he accepts a position in local government, the educated villager tends to become cliquish and spend most of his time with high-status fellow government employees. Because of his position, he may be called upon by his village to help in certain problem situations, but generally, he takes little interest in most of his village's affairs and does little to furnish leadership. To a great degree nowadays in rural Taiwan, as a result of the new paths to status, education has come to have consequences contrary to the traditional function of education in the society. It now tends to foster greater individualism and detachment from the village and the local larger kinship group, and at times even from one's family.

This attitude held toward the village by the educated man who, usually, is financially well off, begins during earlier student days. Almost immediately upon entering middle school, the bond between the student and his fellow villagers weakens—that is except for those who happen to be school chums. Thus, only in a limited number of cases do middle school graduates serve as leaders or innovators in their village. The relatively better educated village members rarely enrich any of the village community functions, nor do they by their own

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example bolster the declining role of the village as a source of security and identification. Considering their potential, such men contribute relatively little to their villages.

Coupled with this has been the more recent decline of the traditional landlord leadership as an effect of the Land Reform Program and an ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership which has developed in the village. When leadership was sorely needed, as in the Li Fan case for example, the villagers actually turned to me, the alien anthropologist, as a potential source of leadership and help. Many former leaders, now prefer not to become too involved in other people's problems or those of the village. In fact, it is now often difficult for villages to find qualified and respected men even to run for the office of mayor or to assume the responsibilities of a leadership role.

The ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership affects not only the operation of the village but that of the *tsu* organizations. One important area of village life adversely affected by the lack of leadership is the apparently increasing inability to resolve local conflict by the traditional method of mediation which was usually carried on by respected *tsu*, village, or area leaders. A particular mediator was selected according to the relationship of the disputants and the nature of the conflict, which might involve intravillage or intervillage disputes over water for irrigation; disputes over landownership and property boundaries; or power struggles between families, especially between *tsu* organizations, over such questions as village administration or the expenditure of funds by village or *tsu* for religious or festive activities; and so on.

Almost always, regardless of the nature of the dispute or the level on which it occurred, mediation had been sought and applied with these aims: first, that the scope and resolution of the conflict be kept localized so as not to invite possible government interference into village affairs, and, second, that the resolution permit the diputants to continue to live harmoniously together. Villagers felt a great degree of permanency since most, tied as they were to the land and to their village, were likewise tied by the particular kinds of relationships developed over the years with local people, both kin and non-kin. There were few opportunities to leave the area, land, or kinship group and go elsewhere so as to avoid the repercussions of an ill-settled dispute.

In recent years, however, it has been becoming increasingly difficult to resolve conflict through mediation and to achieve these aims. In part this is a result of the deterioration of the accepted hierarchal relationship system on both the kin and non-kin levels. On the non-kin level the concept or code of *kan-ch'ing* (as discussed in Chapter 6) and the quality of interpersonal relations governed by it have been weakened. The situation developed largely when the traditional land

including a bottle works and a packing plant; and at about the same time a flour mill was built in nearby Shantzuchiao. More recently, a drug factory employing nearly a hundred people was built in Hsulin, and since the war a textile industry has developed in the market town of Panchiao. Although there are still not enough positions for all those seeking employment, these developments have at least created for some village men the possibility for something other than an agricultural income.

At about the same time as these new resources were developing, the need for something other than an income from agriculture was becoming pressing in Hsiachichou. Within thirty years of their occupation of Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government introduced a broad and highly effective medical program with the inevitable result that the infant mortality rate over the succeeding twenty years fell dramatically. Thus while new opportunities for employment were being created the future work force was increasing at a rapid rate. Even then, however, these developments would not have had a substantial effect upon the village had it not been for one further change. To work in the drug factories or the textile mill at least a minimum of education is required, and without such education the villagers might never have been able to compete with more urban dwellers for employment opportunities. Fortunately an elementary school was established in Chichou in the first decade of this century, so that by the time the shift in economy took place the majority of the male villagers were at least literate.

512 people say that the entire family should gather to observe
782 the ceremony, rarely is anyone other than the worshipper and
512 small children present. Instead of eating breakfast at the
264 table in a group, as each person is ready, he takes a bowl to the cook who dishes up his food and provides a cup of tea, hot only if a fire has been made. Breakfast is eaten wherever room is available, often while squatting in the courtyard.

512 The first bus passes through the village at 5:45 a.m.
466 picking up two men heading for work in town. By 6:30 a.m.,
[491] all the people who work in town will be gone, two girls on
[493] bicycles joining the two on their way from Tzulei, two factory trucks each picking up their complements of girls,
[316] and the remaining men off to town on bicycles. About this time the miners walk off towards the mines so as to be
[241] ready for work down in the shaft at 7:00 a.m. Those working in the fields, men and women alike, leave at various times depending on travel distance so as to reach the work location by 7:15 a.m. at the latest.

512 All the children in the fifth and sixth grade and
• 871 half of those in the first through fourth grade head for the Erhlei school which starts at 7:15 a.m., joining the children who are walking from Tzulei. Since anyone late to school will be punished with a whipping, most children arrive early and play on the slides and in the school yard while waiting.

usually including a soup accompanied by rice or sweet potatoes and vegetables. Lunch is eaten in a manner similar to breakfast, individually in scattered locations. In the hot weather with its longer days, most field workers have a nap after lunch but in the winter with short days, the workers return to the fields within an hour. The school children have an hour for lunch and in the afternoon, the other half of the first four graders attend.

The afternoon period is similar to the morning. Most women have their washing completed now and there is more visiting and more time for cooperative shared tasks such as grinding rice or preparing soy sauce. About two times per week, a group of women go into Hsin Tien to a movie. However, the groups vary so that no one sees a movie more often than once a month or so. By 4:00 the children are home from school. They have few tasks other than feeding the farm animals. Many women turn over the care of the small children to the older students so they can go to the mountains for a load of wood. The temple caretaker has cleaned the temple and is busy now chasing children out who are running and making too much noise.

There have been a few more people in the village than the above might suggest. Since fields are scattered, some men pass through the village on their way from one task site to another. A man hauling dry wood from the mountain will make six or seven stops during the day. The

inaccurate) is true; although change is endemic, the data in Sanlei is consistent with concrete data in the traditional literature in spite of the many converse generalizations.

It is supposedly a Chinese value that women in traditional China should not be educated (Fairbank, 1958:30; C. K. Yang, 1959:111; Chiu, 1966:19). Currently, education in Sanlei village is compulsory for a full six years for boys and girls alike. One of the three junior high school graduations ever achieved by Sanlei residents is a female. Even eighty years ago, two of the fifteen village children in school were girls. One of the original female settlers was semi-literate and was said to possess a fine form for characters.[2] Although change to near equality of educational opportunity has occurred (See Chapter VIII), it was not from an initial position of total denial of education for females. Rather, females went from a minority position in education to one of near equality with males.

We are unable to fully assess the nature of Sanlei villagers' attitudes towards the education of women in the past but we can attempt an educated guess. Today for instance, although it is felt that education is more important for males, any man who goes beyond elementary school should not marry an illiterate woman. This belief is related to the general proposition advanced in the section on marriage (Chapter VIII) that spouses should not be extremely different from each other in any major attribute[3] such as

562 popularity, beauty, intelligence, wealth, etc. This proposition
871 was also strong in the past but we cannot be sure if education at that time was one of the qualities designated for minimal disparity.

562 We do have evidence from history and literature that among the wealthier classes in society, there were many educated females. Indeed, Herbert points out that "in the Great Chinese Encyclopedia, out of 1628 volumes, 376 are devoted to famous women." Seven deal with "the literary productions of women" (1965:227). This kind of evidence is only partially supportive because the relationship between the patterns of the Great Tradition of the wealthier classes and the Little Tradition of the village is only problematical.

It is granted that there is still a disparity between rates of literacy among men and women although the percentage of literacy historically was low for both. In a survey conducted in North China in 1930 among 400 farm families, Gamble found that the literacy rate of 25% among men age 41 to 50 was more than 30 times as high as the rate among women in the same age bracket. These figures, suggesting an educational system operating between 1890 and 1900,[4] clearly indicate discrimination but do not suggest total
562 denial of educational opportunities for females. The dif-
871 ferences in rates may well merely reflect the uses to which
182 education could be put. Education was expensive in terms

562 of the cost of tutoring and in the loss of the labor units
• 891 for food-getting pursuits contributing to family sustenance.
192 A major goal of education was for the student to pass the civil service examination and thereby acquire a government position. Since the examinations and government positions were both denied to females, there was correspondingly little material advantages to be achieved by educating girls. In spite of this lack of any opportunity to achieve economic returns from an investment in the education of a female, the figures furnished by Gamble do show many literate women. Perhaps the point may best be illustrated by analogy. There are three Michigan schools which teach adults how to drive large highway trucks. Although none of the three discriminate against women, there are few female enrollees or graduates (two of about 350 in 1968) because of the extremely limited job opportunities for female drivers.

562 Another area of discrepancy between traditional lit-
593 erature and actual life revolves around the assignment of superordination to male and subordination to female statuses. There are strong statements in the literature that a female is always subordinate to a male. At various stages in her life cycle, she is subordinate to father, then to husband, and eventually to son (Fairbank, 1958:30; Smith, 1899:305; C. K. Yang, 1959b:106-11; Hsu, 1947:241; Lang, 1946:42-46). These three levels of relationship are each discussed below.

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complete their education and so speak little if any Kuo-yu. Therefore, sometime during the preconscription age of twenty to twenty-two the government requires all males who have not completed primary school to attend special Kuo-Yu classes at the local primary school. The local police see to it that these boys attend the classes by imposing fines on the families of the negligent.

In general, the villagers disapprove of forced military service and deeply resent the conscription of men with families. The service imposes many hardships on the families, since it means a loss of farm labor and actual income. While the government assumes some financial responsibility for the families of such men, the aid is slow in coming, and when it does arrive, it is usually insufficient. Moreover, the soldier's pay is so small that rural families have to send their sons or husbands in the army additional spending money almost every month.

In addition to their concern about the hardships conscription imposes on the families, the villagers also fear for the safety of their sons and husbands. Many of the boys from the area are stationed on the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, rightly considered dangerous places. However, in spite of the many problems, one attitude the villagers express, at least in public, is that "like taxes, military service is every man's duty."

In most instances, before a group of villagers leaves to begin service in the army, several functions are held to "send the men off." The night before the departure a village *pai-pai* is held in which the gods are asked to speed the safe return of the conscripts. Every village family participates, each bringing a basket of sacrifice foods to the court of one of the larger village *tsu* houses. Here a shaman (*fa shih*) performs a ritual, inviting the gods to come and partake of the food offerings. At the conclusion of the ritual, each family takes its own food home and eats it for their evening meal.

That same night before the men leave, a large subscription dinner may be held in honor of the draftees. While every village family participates in the *pai-pai*, many families do not take part in this large dinner. Usually, only families which are friendly with the draftees' families will pay the subscription price and send a representative to attend. The representative may be the family head himself or a young son of sixteen years or more. One or two of the village men who earn extra income as cooks on various occasions prepare this dinner at no charge, and several village men and/or boys volunteer to serve the food. Some of the women usually help in the kitchen. At the dinner there is a good deal of drinking and drinking games, joking, and storytelling. In addition, some of the more respected *tsu* leaders or elected officials make speeches.

The next morning the men are sent off by most of the village. The